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other difficulties. This is the main reason why almost everybody works since there is no other way to secure any income whatsoever.

#### Securing Work

b. People in Poland seek employment in the following ways:

(a) Newspapers - A person looking for work may try to get it through an advertisement in the press. This method is used infrequently at the present time. Only specialists are sought for that way. To advertise oneself is not the most successful way since the bulk of those who advertise themselves are white collar workers. They are the most difficult people to place, at least in Krakow. People who can get work without any trouble are technicians, engineers, highly trained experts in the fields of transportation and trade, medical doctors, nurses and bookkeepers. In addition laborers never have any trouble securing employment.

(b) Employment Agents - I never knew any private individuals who were employment agents. Perhaps they exist somewhere such as in the field of domestic service, but I never heard or met any of them. It is extremely difficult to get any servants since everybody prefers to work in factories or workshops.

(c) Party Offices - Until about 1949-50 one could get work through the Party offices. The Party has discontinued this practice. In the past they sent entirely unsuitable candidates for important positions and only trouble resulted.

Right now the Party and the Trade Unions can only recommend people for social or welfare positions, such as the First or Second Secretary of the Ministry of Work and Social Welfare (P O P ); personnel director or someone in the personnel department. In such a case, the enterprise hires such a man irrespective of his qualifications. Theoretically it's not a must to hire such a person but should the local director refuse he must spell out his reasons. In effect such a person is always hired, and only after a certain period, when it becomes obvious that the person is not qualified, can he or she be fired. But even in this case the Party's consent must be given. It is obvious that such cases are very rare and the Party always has a free hand in placing people in such positions as officers in trade unions, chairmen of the Boards, his deputy and secretaries.

Trade Unions in theory do not interfere and always agree on the selection of the man who was elected in union elections and who is an employee of the given enterprise. If such a man is to be fired, the Union's consent must be secured. Trade Unions supply their own people only upon a specific request of a factory or plant. In hiring welfare officers in charge of recreation rooms, Trade Unions have more to say than the factory itself.

From the above description it is clear that both the Party and the Unions can direct their own people to work in various establishments but only in some positions. In theory all social workers should be elected from among the working crew of the given enterprise. And this is where the Party moves in and maneuvers behind the stage. Trade Unions do much less of that.

(d) Use of Connections - It is also possible to look for work on one's own, or in other words to use one's own connections. This method always existed but it was officially forbidden. It was necessary when a person was hired to enclose in his files a directive issued by the Employment Office. That office was eager not to issue such directives to people who were smart enough to secure jobs through their own connections but rather to people who were looking for jobs through normal channels (mostly to personal friends of that Office's officials). Plants were forbidden to negotiate conditions of work with persons who did not have official directives. Enterprises were also forbidden to advertise their openings unless the Office of Employment was unable to furnish qualified personnel.

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In spite of all the regulations, friends and relatives were hired, and consequently in May 1953 a new regulation was issued sanctioning this practice and permitting managements of plants and factories to hire personnel without going through the Employment Office. A person who tries to get a job directly uses his or her friends and visits all possible institutions asking for vacancies.

(e) Employment Office - One can also secure work through the Employment Office. The following information is a detailed description of an Employment Office and contains all of the information known to me on the subject.

#### Employment Office and Procedures in Krakow

5. "The Urząd Zatrudnienia (Employment Office) I think changed its name recently to the Biuro Posrednictwa Pracy, Wydziału Pracy i Opieki Społecznej; (Work Securing Bureau, Division of Welfare and Social Security - PMRN). I shall use the old name since it is shorter and generally used in Poland.
6. "The Employment Office is subordinated to the Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej (District Presidium of the National Council - PWRN) and to the Welfare and Social Welfare Department of the Council of the Ministers. The Employment Office is located on Lubelska Street in Krakow.

#### 7. Entrances

"The Krakow Employment Office has two entrances. One is for the customers and the other for employees and privileged customers. The entrance for the customers leads to a waiting room through a corridor which goes through a small room with a glass roof. There are bicycle stands in this room. The waiting room is larger. To the left of the customer entrance there are offices with partitions and three entrances. Each entrance is divided from the other by a rail. There are no windows for customers. Over the first entrance there is an inscription reading: 'Unskilled laborers - men and women'; over the second entrance: 'Skilled workers - male and female'; over the third entrance: 'White collar workers'. I think that around Aug 53 the order was changed and the middle entrance was for white collar workers.

#### Waiting Room

8. "The inside of the waiting room was dirty. It was always crowded and the air was always stale. The windows are located high up. As far as I can remember there were benches along the walls. I think that in 1953 I saw benches placed near the various entrances.
9. "On the walls there are numerous posters and announcements about openings for laborers in railroads, mining and the municipal transportation company, etc. There was a lot of propaganda for women's work in all fields.
10. "The lines are fantastic. The entire huge hall is filled with people. Around 10 A.M. is the only time when the waiting room is empty. The longest line is in front of the entrance for white collar workers. Since May 53 when permission was given to look for jobs on one's own, the lines are much shorter. The other reason is the fact that fewer vacancies have been registered through the Employment Office than before.

#### Procedure for Interviews

11. "An official walks out to the entrance and informs people that he has such and such openings. Three or five people who pushed themselves ahead receive slips for interviews. The rest can go home as no more openings are expected for the day.

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12. "The privileged customers are admitted into the offices at once. These offices do not have partitions.
13. "Inside the offices there are desks and tables where officials sit. On the desks there are cards which list the available openings. These cards are kept in a wooden file with partitions. Each partition indicates a different kind of job.
14. "The officials do not have special uniforms only office aprons. They are not very polite, and it is very difficult to get any concrete information from them. I do not know how they are paid, but since the Employment Office is subordinated to Presidium of the National Council, they must be paid according to the scale for employees of the local governments - about 500 to 700 zl per month.
15. "One leaves the Employment Office through another door - the one used by the employees when they enter the building. A doorman stands there (he has a chair). While leaving one has to walk through a corridor from which doors lead to offices of the director, his deputy and other officials.
16. "The best time for a job seeker to go to the Employment Office is before 6 AM. The waiting room opens at 7:30 A.M. Once it is open the applicant takes his place in line in front of the proper window. I think the office opens at 8 A.M. and from then on applicants are received.

#### Checks and Documents

17. "Upon admission to the offices the applicant gives the official his work termination notice and his registration card (place of residence). Until 1951 only the former was needed and some kind of an identification. But since home registration became obligatory, the registration card is always requested. In 1950 the regulation on compulsory registration in an employment office was dropped. At that time /1950 and before/ an applicant had to present a certificate of his assets, another one about his family status and a notification about being fired or separated from work. At that time registrations had to be made every few days.
  18. "After presenting the documents - the registration card and separation certificate - the applicant has to tell the official what kind of work he would like to secure or what kind of qualifications he possesses. The official then looks in the proper file and tells the applicant what he has to offer and on what kind of conditions. If the applicant is satisfied, the official directs him to the place of work by writing a proper paper.
- If the applicant is not satisfied with the existing openings, he must come back later.
19. "Usually there is no check made regarding applicant's qualifications. No degrees or any other documents are required at this stage. Documentary proof of qualifications might be asked in cases when an applicant is looking for work for the first time, does not have a certificate from his previous employer and does not have any previous experience. Also in the cases of qualified typists a certificate of efficiency might be asked or the applicant might be asked to type a few sentences in the presence of an official. Only after such a test can a work directive be issued.

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20. "I never heard of anybody being notified by the Employment Office of a suitable vacancy. At present such a possibility is entirely out since no registration is kept at the Employment Office of people looking for work. Prior to 1950 it was theoretically possible to notify a person and call him to report to the office or to keep an opening until he would appear himself as all of them did every few days. Theoretically nobody can have priority in securing work. At present the only persons who have to go through the Employment Office are laborers and persons who have never worked and who do not have any special qualifications. Such people may not have any other possibilities except by going through the Office. They generally get work which pays poorly and which is not wanted by anybody else. Highly qualified experts can also get jobs easily through the Office but they seldom go to it.
21. "The Party, Trade Unions, Political Police, Citizens' Militia hire people without using the Employment Office. Only approved personnel are hired from selected people chosen from various establishments. They undergo special training and after that get much better pay than they had previously.
22. "An applicant after receiving a work directive proceeds to the personnel division of the firm where the opening has been reported.
23. "Openings are reported by telephone. An official of the Employment Office notes down details about the openings in accordance with information received from the personnel office.  

These include: Name of the enterprise; address; telephone number of Personnel Office, name and official function of the person reporting opening; the kind of position and the department in which it is located; and the required qualifications and experience of the applicant. The official also notes when the position must be filled, the salary, if there is a workers' hostel or other possibility of securing a place to live, and if there is a canteen. The official submits the information about the opening to his superior, the director of the Employment Office. The latter looks it over (keeping best openings for his friends) and passes it to the proper window. A selection is then made and openings go to different files. Those which are poorly paid and which have no volunteers go to special files and are often transferred from one day to another. Considering that the official who originally gets all the information also has friends, it is obvious that openings left for the general public by the Office are few and poor. In addition when it was obligatory to register all openings with the Office, enterprises were purposely giving false data in order not to make the openings look too attractive so they could fill them with their own candidates. Such candidates picked up in advance by the personnel office knew the true conditions well ahead of time.
24. "After May 1953 regulations came into force, this procedure was unnecessary. In my opinion it is superfluous to keep the Employment Office in existence. Workers can work without any trouble through advertisements, poster, etc. Conditions of work and the name and address of the firm looking for workers are all included in such advertisements.
25. "I never heard of anybody being refused to be directed to work should a vacancy exist and proper qualifications of the applicants were approved. This includes people who were returning from labor camps or prisons or people who were fired by their previous employer for some kind of disciplinary action. Also political considerations were not taken into account by the Employment Office. Anyone who really wanted to work could work. These matters were subsequently examined by the prospective employer or his personnel office. Private employers never hired people through the Office.
26. "During the job interview both sides negotiated conditions and should these prove to be acceptable, copies of documents needed for the job were listed.

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The following documents had to be submitted:

- (a) two applications and personal data
- (b) two copies of biography
- (c) copy of housing registration card
- (d) copy of birth certificate
- (e) copy of certificates from previous employments
- (f) copy of military book
- (g) two photographs

At that point all the formalities were finished. The new employer then was supposed to write to the applicant's previous employer for information. Such a letter was considered secret.

27. Biographies and questionnaires had to be filled out very often. Technical workers were bothered more than anybody else by these forms. The personnel questionnaires differ from place to place.

#### Directives for Work

28. "I do not recall how a 'Work Directive' looks, but I remember what it contains and who issues it. A work directive contains:

- Name and surname of applicant
- Date of birth
- Father's name and his place of birth
- Place of permanent residence
- Profession in accordance with schools' certificate
- Indication regarding position for which qualified
- Date, number and date of validity of the Directive
- Workshop duties towards the Employment Office
- Applicant's obligations towards the Office
- Signatures of officials.

29. "The Directives are given to all graduates of colleges, universities and technical schools. They are issued by the Commission of Economic Planning in conjunction with school authorities. Right now more consideration is given to applicants' choice of geographical locations since the decree of Cadres Fluidity (?) expired in 1952. That decree stipulated among other things that a graduate sent by the Office to fill a definite spot cannot leave his job prior to the date of expiration of his Work's Directive nor can the factory dismiss him.
30. "The Directive entitles an employee to a refund of all expenses such as travel, food and lodging should the job be in another town or village. Once at work he is entitled to spend one day at home. I think that his expenses were covered in this case also, but I am not sure.
31. "In the Cadres Fluidity decree there was a paragraph requesting employers to secure a temporary lodging for a new man upon his arrival and a permanent one not later than six months after his assumption of duties. On the basis of that paragraph a man could ask to be relieved from his duties in case his employer did not provide appropriate lodgings. These things were organized through the Ministry.
32. "Works Directives often sent students from Warsaw to Krakow, from Krakow to Gdynia etc. I knew a number of boys who purposely skipped getting degrees in order not to be shipped away from their native towns.

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33. "Things have changed recently. Technical personnel are less in demand, and works directives are no longer necessary. At present they are issued only for graduates of some technical schools and only upon such graduate's specific requests. Employees who had Works Directives did not have to have a slip from the Employment Office indicating their fitness for such or such a job.

#### Official Transfers

34. "Official transfers are made without notifying the Employment Office. In cases when an employee is a badly needed specialist, he is transferred without his consent. But mostly employees' wishes are taken into consideration.
35. "There are two kinds of official transfers: temporary and permanent. For the latter an employee cannot be forced. In case of the former an employee can ask to be paid per diem in the same way he would be paid on an official trip. In case of a permanent transfer the plant, factory or office must pay all the expenses. The transfer is typewritten on a piece of paper, without any special form and signed by the Personnel Director and the Management. Conditions of transfer must be noted on that paper. I think that in such a case an employee may give notice, and if he does so, the enterprise has to keep him where he is. But he can be transferred from one place to another within the area of his permanent residence. Personal files are mailed through official channels or by mail marked 'confidential' to the new place of employment.

#### Separation from Work

36. "The Separation Certificate is issued by the Personnel Department and is signed by the Personnel Director, Management and the Council for separation from work. Separation is executed after consent is secured from the Director of Employment and Work, and in the case of social workers also from the trade unions and the Party.

#### Reasons for Separation from Work

37. "The following reasons for separations are given:
- (a) lack of funds and lack of vacancies
  - (b) lack of qualifications - this, of course, is not mentioned to the employee
  - (c) personal request (in case of securing a better paying position or for any other personal reasons)
- In these cases a three months' notice is required for white collar workers on permanent jobs, and two weeks notice for those employed for a trial period only. The same two weeks period is required in case of laborers. The trial period is always the first three months of anyone's employment.
38. "One can be fired immediately for economic sabotage, for intentionally causing damage to the establishment, for assaulting a superior officer, and for injuring his superior officer's personal and professional prestige. In case of a prolonged illness - over three months - an employee may be dismissed. Should he return prior to three months, he can be served a notice but under no circumstances can his illness be given as reason. Only employees can give notices on account of their health. Employers cannot use that as a pretext.
39. "There are immediate dismissals and serving of notices. Immediate dismissals are for criminal offences or in case of prolonged illnesses. A dismissal notice is submitted in writing for those in the trial period and for laborers. Such a formal notification must be delivered to the employee either the last day of the month or a 15th of a month. According to law an employee can also be served with a notice on his payday.

#### Certificate of Dismissal

40. "After being dismissed employee receives his certificate of dismissal - Zaswiadczenie Pracy (Works' Certificate issued upon termination of employment). With



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The image shows three chemical structures of 1,2,3,4,5-pentachlorobenzene, which is a benzene ring with five chlorine atoms at positions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The structures are drawn in a skeletal format, showing the hexagonal ring and the attached chlorine atoms.

such a certificate an employee goes to the Employment Office in order to secure work. One who gets a notice of dismissal can use three days a month for looking for work while still employed by his previous employer. Lately personnel people have refused, to let such people off for the legally prescribed three days, but there is always a way out. One could get a pass to go to the Employment Office.

41. "I never heard of any office paying unemployment benefits. A dismissed person does not get any help from the State or from local governments. I know that there is Social Welfare Department of the PMRN but I never heard of them taking care of the unemployed.

### Employment of Minors

42. "In principle minors' work is regulated by appropriate legislation. I saw in one of the back issues of the 'Monitor Polski' (an official Law Journal) a chart with pay scales for women and minors. Employment in mines, zinc foundries, lead foundries, etc. were also listed. Minors are divided into two groups: from 6 to 14 years of age and from 16 to 18. I don't recall exactly how the regulations read, but I seek to recall that work of minors below the age of 16 should be treated as an apprenticeship. Minors are entitled to a longer vacation period - I think about one month for laborers - and can use that time after being in a factory six months. Others have to wait one year.

Permission to Employ a Minor

43. "Permission from the Labor Inspector's office had to be secured for hiring a minor. Such permission could be obtained after the minor had a medical check up. It was up to a doctor to determine what type of work such a minor was best suited. Permissions issued by the Inspector included the name of the enterprise requesting the permission in the body of such a permission. The Inspector also recommended that the employer keep up a minor's education. Permissions were printed on blue paper; the personnel data were typewritten. Minors were not permitted to work overtime, nor to work in night shifts. It is now easier for minors to secure a couple of hours a day free for continuation of their studies. All these conditions made it unpopular to employ minors. They were hired when it was the only way to increase manpower.

44. "Adult workers were also supposed to get medical examinations after being hired, but few firms stuck to that requirement. Often medical examinations consisted of a couple of questions exchanged with the doctor.

Labor Inspectorate

45. "The Labor Inspector for the given district of PMRN decides and judges all cases arising between an employer and an employee. Workers address their grievances to him about dismissal notices, non-fulfillment of conditions of work, unjustified treatment, vacations etc. I also heard about a Labor Court, which probably was in the Inspectorate. This is a second step where appeals can be made against the Inspector's decision. The Inspectorate is under the Welfare and Social Department of the Ministry of Social Welfare.

46. "In principle the inspector always takes the side of employees against employers. He makes employers pay damages etc. Inspectors also control various enterprises. I never saw such a control. They are concerned with wages, conditions of work, security measures, etc. I don't remember where the Labor Inspectorate is located in Krakow.

### Illustration of the Employment Problem

47. "For better illustration of the employment problem I will describe a specific case.

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48. "Citizen Bogucki left his place of work without giving proper notice because no lodgings were provided for him. This was in the summer of 1951, and he was well paid. He received extra money per diem when he was sent out into the field. He worked at an Industrial Building Enterprise which was erecting structures all over Krakow County. Because he had no place to stay in Krakow and had to sleep at the railway station, he went to the Employment Office at 5 A.M. one day. He had his registration card with him, but he did not have his certificate of separation from work. When in line he learned that he had to have such documents in order to receive directives to go to work. But someone in the line told him that officials are not too strict with laborers. Already at 6 A.M. at least 20 people were waiting in line.
49. "He waited until 7:30 A.M. when the doors were open. There were so many people waiting that an enormous crowd was in front of the building. Everybody wanted to be first. Although Bogucki was one of the first to arrive, he was pushed into the middle.
50. "Customers were dealt with very fast. They were informed where to go, and one person received directives for the entire group of applicants, and a whole group went to the given address.
51. "Bogucki was advised to go to Nowa Huta. He was also told when he was complaining about his housing problem, that this was an Employment Office and not a housing one. Bogucki was furious and hungry when he left the Office. He took No. 3 streetcar and got off at Basztowa Street. He stopped at a milk bar. It was 10 A.M. and he had plenty of time to go to Nowa Huta and see how the situation was there. While on the train he learned from one of his companions that his former employer had a plant in Nowa Huta. The offices were in Mogila and Bogucki went there. He noticed meat shops full of goods unlike Krakow where meat is impossible to get.
52. "In the Personnel Department of Industrial United Builders in Mogila, people were nice and friendly to him. He was asked to fill out a personnel application, write his biography, etc. Then he was asked to produce a registration card, a military book and a birth certificate all of which he was to bring over the next morning. He did not get any agreement in writing. He was told that he would make around 1,200 zl per month. Then he was instructed to report to the Social Department in order to be registered and then directed to chief of the Workers' Hostels. In the Social Department he filled out another printed form and went to the room where the hostel's official sat. He had to show his documents and to fill a registration card for his new lodgings. After he completed this, a man who was in charge of a storeroom issued him a mattress, one sheet, a small pillow filled with hay, and two blankets. The storekeeper then directed Bogucki to a man in charge of a barracks. Bogucki was shown a tiny room in barracks called pompously 'Workers' Hostel'. There were some concrete barracks next door, but they were not completed as yet. In Mogila hostels were overcrowded and therefore barracks were hastily constructed. It was at least better than sleeping at a railroad station.
53. "There were six to eight bunks in each room. Closets were used by several people. Bogucki, being new, was assigned to an upper berth. He landed in the middle of a rather gay crowd, and everyday money was collected and vodka bought. Every night drinking parties were formed with new bottles appearing the minute the previous one was empty. Everybody had to contribute. At these parties Bogucki learned a lot about his work. He also learned about one of the workers who at one of the similar occasions drank so heavily and gambled so much that he lost all his money and jumped into the river as a result. There was a lot of trouble because of this incident and many people were punished.
54. "Citizen Bogucki moved to another room the next day. The previous room turned out to be a well-known place, familiar to the local police. After three days in that hostel Bogucki was not certain what was better - to sleep at the railroad station or here. Only now he was convinced that all

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the rumors circulating about Nowa Huta workers were more or less correct. A number of ambulances circulated daily taking men who were stabbed. Citizen Bogucki was soon made a foreman and transferred to another hostel. He also received better wages.

#### Social Origin

55. "The various social origins are - peasants, workers, tradesmen, working intelligencia, industrialists and capitalists. I never heard of anybody being refused work because of his social origin. Nevertheless people with capitalistic background were treated more harshly than others. They can work if they have any kind of profession or trade. The Party makes it difficult for people with capitalistic background, but it always is based on personal relations with a given secretary of the Party. If a man has something to offer, he can always grumble and call for his rights.
56. "A man who is of the 'wrong' social origin cannot become a Party member. But I heard of a Count ~~fnw~~ Radziwill who supposedly joined the Party around 1946-47. I don't know if that was correct. But such a man cannot be appointed to any of the more responsible posts since he does not command the confidence of the people. I know personally Kazimierz Damski, an engineer, who is of aristocratic origin and works as an engineer for Krakowskie Zjednoczenie Wodno - Inzynieryjne Budownictwo Przemyslowego Zarzad Budowlano-Montazowy No. 2 ~~ZBM2~~. ZBM2 is unusual in that they hire people of aristocratic origin, but it is possible that other such enterprises exist. I also know Mr. Alfred Zmuda, a former land owner, who is now a painter. His wife is chief of the Section of Municipal Retail Trade - Food Section in spite of her origin. There are people who simply don't want to work and such people feel unjustly harmed."

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